

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11  
TRSE-00 OMB-01 /067 W  
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R 231025Z JUN 78  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4781  
INFO AMEMBASY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
KDKDA/AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST 2015  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
USMISSION USNATO  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
AMCONSUL ZAGREB

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SOFIA 1211

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PEPR, BU, YO, RO, AL  
SUBJECT: ZHIVKOV'S OVERTURE TO YUGOSLAVIA

1. SUMMARY: IN MAJOR SPEECH IN BLAGOEVGRAD, CAPITAL OF  
BULGARIAN MACEDONIA, TODOR ZHIVKOV MADE DIRECT APPEAL TO  
PRESIDENT TITO ON JUNE 15 TO SETTLE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN  
TWO COUNTRIES. SPEECH ALSO CONTAINED POINTS ON BULGARIAN  
RELATIONS WITH OTHER BALKAN NEIGHBORS ROMANIA, ALBANIA,  
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GREECE, AND TURKEY. SUBSEQUENT SPEECH AT PETRICH, OLB  
BULGARIAN MACEDONIAN CAPITAL ON JUNE 16 SOMEWHAT UNDERCUT  
BLAGOEVGRAD SPEECH AND UNDERLINED AGAIN IMPORTANCE OF  
  
MACEDONIAN QUESTION PN INTERNAL BULGARIAN POLITICS.  
END SUMMARY.

2. SPEAKING IN BLAGOEVGRAD, THE DISTRICT CAPITAL OF BULGARIAN (PIRIN) MACEDONIA, TODOR ZHIVKOV MADE A DIRECT APPEAL JUNE 15 TO PRESIDENT TITO AND YUGOSLAVIA FOR A RELAXATION OF TENSIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES ON SUBJECT OF MACEDONIA. WEIGHT OF SPEECH WAS EMPHASIZED BY FACT THAT ZHIVKOV WAS ACCOMPANIED ON VISIT TO BLAGOEVGRAD DISTRICT BY BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (BCP) DISTRICT FIRST SECRETARIES FOR ALL 27 DISTRICTS OF COUNTRY, TOP IDEOLOGIST AND PARTY SECRETARY ALEKSANDUR LILOV, AND BY STATE AND PUBLIC CONTROL COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN KRISTYU TRICHKOV, HIMSELF A PROMINENT MEMBER OF BULGARIA'S MACEDONIAN LEADERSHIP GROUP

3. SPEECH STRESSED BULGARIA'S "PRINCIPLED AND CONSTRUCTIVE, PEACEFUL POLICY ON THE BALKANS." "WE HAVE NOT INTERFERED NOR DO WE INTEND TO INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, NOR TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF PROBABLE INTERNAL OR INTERNATIONAL DIFFICULTIES OF OUR NEIGHBORS," SAID ZHIVKOV, A CLEAR ILLUSION TO CONTINUING SPECULATION ABOUT BULGARIAN INTENTIONS POST-TITO. ZHIVKOV CITED IMPROVEMENTS IN RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA--EXPANSION OF ECONOMIC EXCHANGES, ACTIVATED POLITICAL CONTACTS, AND TIES IN FIELDS OF SCIENCE, EDUCATION, AND CULTURE. RELATIONS COULD BECOME "A MODEL OF GOOD NEIGHBORLINESS".

4. ZHIVKOV SAID IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO RESOLVE SUCCESSFULLY THE "SO-CALLED OPEN ISSUES . . . BY STRICTLY OBSERVING CONFIDENTIAL

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THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY, NONINTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, AND MUTUAL . . . RESPECT FOR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY." "THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA HAS NO TERRITORIAL CLAIMS AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA." BULGARIA IS READY TO SIGN A JOINT DECLARATION CONFIRMING PRINCIPLE OF INVIOABILITY OF BORDERS AND MUTUAL DENIAL OF TERRITORIAL CLAIMS. BULGARIA IS READY TO DO THAT IMMEDIATELY, WITHOUT ANY CONDITIONS AND WITHOUT ANY DELAY. HE ADDED, "IF THE YUGOSLAV SIDE AGREES, I PERSONALLY AM READY TO GO TO BELGRADE AS EARLY AS TOMORROW IN ORDER TO AFFIX WITH COMRADE TITO OUR SIGNATURES TO SUCH A DOCUMENT."

5. ZHIVKOV SPEECH ALSO CONTAINED POINTS REGARDING BULGARIAN RELATIONS WITH OTHER BALKAN NATIONS--ROMANIA, ALBANIA, GREECE, AND TURKEY. ZHIVKOV CHARACTERIZED RELATIONS WITH ROMANIA AS "CLOSE AND FRIENDLY" BUT MADE POINT THAT COULD NOT BUT ANNOY ROMANIANS BY STRESSING--IN ADDITION TO BILATERAL RELATIONS--THE DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT OF BULGARIAN/ROMANIAN RELATIONS WITHIN COMECON AND THE WARSAW PACT. ON ALBANIA, WITH WHICH BULGARIA CONDUCTS DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS THROUGH A BULGARIAN CHARGE D'AFFAIRES IN TIRANA AND AN ALBANIAN

MISSION IM SOFIA HEADED PRESENTLY BY A SECOND SECRETARY,  
ZHIVKOV SAID HE WAS CONVINCED THAT "THERE WERE NO IFUPERABLE  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 SOFIA 1211

OBSTACLES TO COMPLETE NORMALIZATION OF BILATERAL RELATIONS,"  
RATHER OPTIMISTIC ASSESSMENT CONSIDERING THE CONTINUING  
HIGH LEVEL OF VITUPERATION ABOUT "THE ZHIVKOV CLIQUE"  
CONTAINED IN ALBANIAN EMBASSY PRESS RELEASES. ON GREECE  
AND TURKEY, ZHIVKOV SAID THAT RELATIONS ARE DEVELOPING  
ALONG AN ASCENDING LINE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. (NO MEN-  
TION WAS MADE OF HUNGARY. DEALING WITH BALKAN RELATIONS  
COUNTRY BY COUNTRY IMPLICITLY AFFIRMED BULGARIA'S POLICY  
POSITION OF BILATERAL AS OPPOSED TO MULTILATERAL BALKAN  
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COOPERATION.)

6. FROM BLAGOEVGRAD, ZHIVKOV PROCEEDED JUNE 16 TO PETRICH, PAST CENTER OF INTENSE BULGARIAN MACEDONIAN FEELING AND ACTIVITY. (UNTIL MID-1930'S, THE MACEDONIAN TERRORIST ORGANIZATION IMRO VIRTUALLY RAN THE THEN SEPARATE PETRICH DISTRICT.) THERE, THE BULGARIAN PRESS SAID ONLY THAT HE MADE A SPEECH IN THE PUBLIC SQUARE AND VISITED AN AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX. HOWEVER, BULGARIAN TELEVISION ON LATE NIGHT NEWS JUNE 16 CARRIED EXCERPTS FROM WHAT WAS APPARENTLY A VERY NATIONALISTIC AND EMOTIONAL ZHIVKOV SPEECH, WHICH INCLUDED THE STATEMENT, "ALL WHO ARE TRUE BULGARIAN SHOULD COME TO PETRICH; IT IS THE CENTER OF ALL THAT IS BULGARIAN," WITH ARMS WAVING, TO INTENSE APPLAUSE.

7. COMMENT: ZHIVKOV SPEECH SHOULD BE LOOKED AT WITH REFERENCE TO THREE AUDIENCES, YUGOSLAVIA, INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION, AND THE BULGARIAN LEADERSHIP ITSELF, INCLUDING THE MACEDONIANS HIGH IN THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT. FROM THE YUGOSLAV POINT OF VIEW, THE BLAGOEVGCRD SPEECH, CONSIDERING ITS NATURE AND SETTING, REPRESENTS A CLEAR EFFORT ON ZHIVKOV'S PART TO LOWER THE TEMPERATURE OF RECENT BULGARIAN/YUGOSLAV VOLLEYS ON THE MACEDONIA ISSUE. AT THE SAME TIME, THIS PERCEPTION WOULD BE WEAKENED BY THE YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP'S VIRTUALLY CERTAIN, EQUALLY GOOD KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT ZHIVKOV SAID AT PETRICH. THE YUGOSLAVS WERE PROBABLY ALSO SLIGHTLY ANNOYED BY ZHIVKOV'S LESS-THAN-COY BID FOR LONG-SOUGHT-AFTER INVITATION TO BELGRADE.

8. FROM AN INTERNATIONAL POINT OF VIEW, ZHIVKOV'S BLAGOEVGRAD SPEECH GOES ON RECORD AS STATESMANLIKE BID FOR RESOLUTION OF LONGSTANDING BALKAN REGIONAL PROBLEM AND AS PLEDGE OF NOTHING BUT PEACEFUL INTENTIONS TOWARD YUGOSLAVIA, CONFIDENTIAL

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FOR FUTURE REFERENCE.

9. FROM BULGARIAN INTERNAL POINT OF VIEW, THE SPEECHES REPRESENT A TYPICAL ZHIVKOV APPROACH TO THE MACEDONIAN PROBLEM: RUNNING WITH THE HARE AND HUNTING WITH THE HOUNDS, PROTECTED BY CONTROL OF THE MEDIA FROM BEING CALLED TO ACCOUNT. IN BLAGOEVGRAD, HE MADE A SPEECH THAT PLEASES THOSE IN BULGARIA WHO BELIEVE THAT MACEDONIA IS AN OLD PROBLEM THW SHOQDXSFORGOTTEN AS ONLY INTERFERING WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF SENSIBLY GOOD RELATIONS WITH CLOSE NEIGHBOR YUGOSLAVIA. ON THE OTHER HAND, BY THE VERY VISIT

ITSELF, THE HIGH LEVEL AND NUMBER OF THOSE WHO ACCOMPANIED  
HIM, AND BY HIS FIERY SPEECH IN PETRICH, THE REAL CAPITAL  
OF PIRIN MACEDONIA, ZHIVKOV MUST HAVE PLEASED THE HIGH-  
PLACED AND POWERFUL MACEDONIANS IN THE PARTY AND THE GOB,  
AN ALWAYS IMPORTANT CONSOITUENCY FOR TODOR ZHIVKOV, OR  
ANY OTHER BULGARIAN NATIONAL LEADER.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
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**Subject:** ZHIVKOV'S OVERTURE TO YUGOSLAVIA  
**TAGS:** PEPR, BU, YO, RO, AL, (ZHIVKOV, TODOR)  
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